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"OF this I am certain, that in a democracy, the majority of the citizens is capable of exercising the most cruel oppressions upon the minority, whenever strong divisions prevail in that kind of polity, as they often must; and that oppression of the minority will extend to far greater numbers, and will be carried on with much greater fury, than can almost ever be apprehended from the dominion of a single sceptre."—BURKE.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

On the Western Front the Germans now include their best soldiers transferred from the Russian lines, and are credited with between 180 and 190 divisions, waiting for the great coming battle. Meanwhile raids and artillery firing have increased in number and in intensity. Allied airmen have maintained their advantage during the week, and brought down a good many enemies. French pilots on Sunday last destroyed eight and sent down five machines well over the German lines, and Italian and English airmen between them shot down thirteen in Italy on Monday.

The fighting coup of the week has been accomplished by the Poles, who are making a bold show against tyranny in Russia. The Polish legions of the Russian army in revolt against the Bolsheviks have occupied the town of Rogatcheff, broken up the Soviet, and seized the local treasury. Fifty miles north of Rogatcheff they have also taken the Russian Headquarters at Mohileff, and have arrested the Bolshevik Commander-in-Chief, Krilenko, with all his staff.

The Government are to be congratulated on having at last plucked up courage to apply the policy of reprisals to Germany. Two British airmen, Captain Scholtz and Lieutenant Wookey, having been captured and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for dropping leaflets, the German Government have been informed that unless their sentences are cancelled within a month, German airmen in our hands will be similarly treated. The German authorities have also been told that as they have placed officer prisoners of war in areas specially subject to air-raids, the same steps will be taken with regard to German officer prisoners in this country. "We are getting on," as Mr. Asquith would say. As dropping leaflets over army lines is no breach of the laws of war, and as it is what the Germans do over the Italian lines, it shows how

terrified the German authorities are at the idea of their own soldiers getting to know the truth.

Mr. Gerard is right, we think, in saying that there will be no revolution in Germany as long as the war lasts. After the war there will almost certainly be a revolution, unless the military party can point to some definite success by way of compensation for the slaughter, the starvation, and the loss of wealth. It is as nearly impossible as anything can be that Germany will be able to show any such compensation to the citizen army returning to civil life and the casting up of accounts. The utmost that Germany can hope for is the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*, which is certainly not an equivalent for the ruin into which the Kaiser has plunged the country.

Where or how is it possible for Germany to secure compensation? At one time it looked as if the whole of Russia was about to drop into Germany's mouth like an over-ripe pear. But Little Russia, or the Ukraine, which is about a third, and the most intelligent third, of Russia has suddenly developed a national consciousness, and there seems every probability that it will shake off Trotsky and Great Russia and form a republic by itself. That would be a serious blow to German ambition, for the Ukrainians, sometimes called Ruthenians, like the Austrians, both hate and fear the Germans. By mere politeness of manner the Austrians have managed to keep on good terms with the Poles and the Ukrainians; and this superficial courtesy is going to serve Austria better, in the resettlement of Europe, than the boorish arrogance of the Prussians will serve Germany. Again, it looked at one time as if Germany might be able to present Asiatic Turkey to the "high finance" as compensation; but the progress of British arms in Mesopotamia and Syria has knocked that on the head.

We agree with a saying which we have seen attributed to Sir Robert Baden-Powell, that the balance of power, in other words the peace of Europe, will not be settled by any terms of peace which may be accepted by the belligerents this year or next. It will depend on the distribution of man-power in 1945, when babies of to-day have grown to manhood. There may be no longer any Kaisers or Kings at that date; but the death-feud between Teutons and Latins and Anglo-Saxons can only be decided by the balance of man-power. If that balance of physical strength is equally divided, there will be no next war: but if the Teutonic group discovers that it possesses a preponderant man-power, there will be another war, prate we how we may about leagues of nations and brotherhood of labour. The moral of which reasoning is, breed we healthy babies and many of them.

The Eugenics Society and the Malthusian League have been thrown into something like a quandary by the war. Hitherto their policy has been "birth control"; but the loss of life in the war has forced them in the opposite direction towards "birth assistance." The sight of a pregnant woman was said to excite the Rev. Dr. Malthus to a pitch of fury: but he would be a bold Malthusian to-day who advocated checking population. At a recent meeting Mr. Bernard Shaw is reported to have declared that "if he were a woman he

would refuse to have a child for less than £2,000." We do not know whether that is the price which Mr. Shaw puts on himself as a possible mother—Mr. Shaw always had a tendency to overrate himself—or whether he regards it as the State endowment of maternity.

There is an interesting article in the *Quarterly Review* by Sir William Ramsay on the Turkish peasantry of Anatolia. "Every traveller and almost every European resident in Turkey has acquired a strong liking for the Anatolian peasant. Many who hate the Turkish rule will readily confess their love for the villager, their gratitude for his hospitality and kindness, their admiration for his simplicity and courage." This is pleasant reading at a time when fashionable pens are being hired by Nationalist Societies to blacken the character of the Turk. Speaking of a Turkish servant whom he had for seven years Sir William writes: "He was an excellent specimen of a village Turk; absolutely trustworthy, strong, slow, steady, modest, quiet, perfectly well-behaved, and perfectly useless in all the departments of work where any skill or readiness were required."

We have quoted these passages because a determined attempt is being made by certain political organisations, liberally supplied with money God knows whence obtained, to paint the Turk as a fiend incarnate, who must be driven out of his home, or if allowed to remain in his own country, must be placed under the "protection" of some other Power. Mr. E. F. Benson, of "Dodo" celebrity, has published a book in which, after pages of atrocity-mongering in the screaming sensational style, he proceeds to parcel out the Turkish Empire. Constantinople is to be internationalised; Syria, Palestine, and the Cilician Coast are to be allotted to the French; Mesopotamia to the British; and the Armenians are to be placed under the protection of the Russians! Poor Armenians: it is indeed a case of out of the frying-pan into the fire!

It is a little unfortunate that Mr. Benson should have sat down to his "melon-slicing" before President Wilson, and Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Balfour had announced that Turkey was to be allowed to keep Constantinople, of which no one has as yet succeeded in depriving her. There is, too, an old proverb about killing the bear before you divide his skin, which Mr. Benson has forgotten, in his fine frenzy. The Armenian massacres are of course indefensible: but they are not a whit worse than, if as bad as, the Russian massacres of one another. The truth about these horrors is that all the peoples of Eastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey are in the same stage of barbarism, with a very thin veneer of civilisation. The history of Serbia has been stained with regicide: the Bulgarians are notoriously the most brutal and treacherous people in the world: the Greeks and Levantines are inclined to effeminacy rather than cruelty, but their bad faith is proverbial: the Russians have beaten the record of the French Revolutionists in the eighteenth century. The Turks are no worse than their neighbours in point of barbarity, and their word is more trustworthy.

Sir William Ramsay tells us that what the Turkish peasantry want is friendly guidance, and, above all, industrial organisation. It is astounding to learn, that in the midst of this war, the Germans have been able to spare men and money for the development of Anatolia. They have started irrigation, and at Konia and Adana they have established sugar and cotton factories. As a result of this organised cultivation it is stated that Germany is now drawing supplies of cotton, sugar, oil, and wheat from Cilicia. By the treaty of Cyprus in 1878, the British Government bound itself to protect the Asiatic dominions of Turkey, and the Turkish Government bound itself to introduce reforms. Both parties neglected to fulfil their obligations, and as a result Turkey was thrown into the arms of Germany, who has done more to develop Anatolia in five years

than Great Britain did in fifty. As Sir William Ramsay says, "It is unlikely that Britain will be able, or even willing, to wash her hands of Turkey permanently or completely. The country will remain on the hands of the Allied Powers." The Turkish Government officials, who are generally Levantines or Armenians, are hopelessly corrupt, like the Russian officials. The Turkish peasants are obedient, contented, and easily governed. The prejudice against the Turkish people is either worked up by subsidies from Slavonic societies, or promoted by religious fanatics and Gladstonian politicians, whose ignorance of the racial facts and the military resources of Turkey has seriously misled the Entente Powers.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, by his speech at the Labour Conference, which has reappeared as an article in the current *Contemporary Review*, has nailed his colours to the mast of State ownership. If he aspires to lead the Labour Party, or any party, except the Fabian philosophers, he has made a serious strategical blunder, which does not distress us. State ownership is unpopular with everybody, workmen, employers, and the public. For State ownership involves State control; and we fancy that everybody is determined to shake off the State official as soon as possible after the war. The only people who do not see this are the State officials themselves, and Fabians like Mr. Sidney Webb, who have spent so much of their lives in building up a beautiful fabric of State control, that they are loth in their old age to knock it down.

The struggle will come between the State Socialists and the Syndicalists, for the two systems are antipodean. Syndicalism means the ownership and management of industries by local groups of employees. State Socialism means the ownership and management of everything by Government officials. Thus the miners of South Wales would own and manage the coal mines of South Wales: another group would own and manage the Yorkshire or the Durham collieries. A group of engineers would own and manage Armstrongs, or Beardmores, or Cammell Laird. Other groups would become possessed of Denny's or Harland and Wolff's shipbuilding yards, and so on. This policy is naturally far more attractive to organised Labour than a system in which they would merely exchange the present directors of a company for a politically appointed official from Whitehall.

The two difficulties which confront the Syndicalists are Management and Capital. Of course, the trade union officials and the shop stewards think that they could manage John Brown's or Cammell Laird as well as, or better than, Mr. Hichens: they are convinced that they could easily produce a man as good as Mr. Vickers or Mr. Barker—we take these names at random, to illustrate the argument. Anybody who has any experience of business on a large scale knows what a thin partition divides a profit from a loss, and what experience and training and special education are necessary for management. But the working-classes don't know this, and won't believe it. They are sure that Tom Smith or Bert Jones is every bit as good as Mr. Vickers or Mr. Hichens. The second difficulty is capital. Where is the Syndicalist group to get its working capital? The purchase price might be arranged by a forced payment in shares. As for the working-capital, we suppose the Syndicalist group will repair to the local bank, and demand an overdraft. But suppose there are no deposits there? State Socialism is easier than Syndicalism; and the Bureaucrats are in possession.

The trouble with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers does not apparently lie between that body and the Government, but between the other allied Trade Unions and Sir Auckland Geddes. The other trade unions suspect the Amalgamated Engineers of trying to do a deal "on their own" with the Government, and they want to see what is going on with their own eyes.

Who can blame them? Apart from what is called the question of punctilio, the proposal that married men of forty and over (who are wrongly called "dilutees" instead of diluters) should be sent out before the young unmarried men seems preposterous, whatever promise may have been made. Should this dispute continue, it is said in certain quarters that Mr. Lloyd George may wash his hands of it, and call upon the Labour Party to conduct the war. This would be like calling on Cleon to raise the blockade of Sphacteria.

The defeat of the Sinn Féiner by the Redmondite candidate in South Armagh (majority of over 1,000) may be a sign that the cause of rebellion is weakening. If so, it is no thanks to the supine Government of Mr. Duke, though as the majority included some Orange voters, Sir Edward Carson's visit to Belfast may have influenced the result. Sir Edward Carson has said plainly that if the Convention recommends one parliament for Ireland, Ulster will not surrender. As the coercion of Ulster is more "unthinkable" now than in 1914, it would seem that one of two courses must be adopted by the Government: Home Rule must be dropped, or two provincial legislatures must be established in Ireland. Seeing that the war appears to be considered by our governors as a peculiarly favourable opportunity for large constitutional changes, perhaps two parliaments for Ireland may be accompanied by three for England, Wales, and Scotland.

The Asquithian remnant have withdrawn their men from the Parliamentary Pensions Bureau and opened a Pensions branch of their own in Abingdon Street. The reason for this, as elegantly expressed by one of their weekly organs, was that the Parliamentary Bureau had become the dumping ground for Unionist votes, the evidence of which was the removal of Mr. J. M. Hogge, M.P., from the Secretaryship. The Parliamentary Pensions Bureau was a committee composed of 90 Liberal and 80 Conservative members. On the resignation of Sir Ellis Griffiths, Sir Montague Barlow was, on the former's recommendation, elected chairman, and Sir Charles Nicholson, a Liberal, was elected secretary in the place of Mr. Hogge. According to Sir Montague Barlow's statement, many Conservatives were either absent or did not vote.

There is nothing in this statement of facts to justify Mr. Gulland's suggestion that the Unionists were endeavouring to use the organisation for party purposes, though there is much in Mr. Gulland's action to warrant the inference that the Asquithians intend to exploit pensioners as partisans. After the Civil War in America, the Pension Fund continued for twenty or thirty years, to be used as an instrument of political corruption. It became notorious that persons, who had no connection whatever with the soldiers of the war, were drawing pensions out of the public pocket, and war-pensioner became a jocular term for a political parasite. Are we going to have a repetition of this scandal in Great Britain? Few things are more loathsome than political philanthropy. But corruption is the bane of all democracies, as of all autocracies. Indeed, democracy is only an inverted autocrat.

Lord Derby has made the *amende honorable* to Lady Angela Forbes, and no doubt it is well that the matter should end there. But we cannot help observing that it was not until Lord Ribblesdale and Lord Wemyss had raised the matter in the House of Lords that Lord Derby apologised and acknowledged the services which Lady Angela Forbes had rendered to the Army. And when Lord Derby says that "the closing of the canteen was not intended in any way to reflect on her management" and that "the military authorities are in no way responsible for the wild rumours," we can only comment that the Secretary of State has not been correctly instructed by the War Office. But the public has long ceased to expect the truth from official answers in Parliament. There used to be a saying at the Bar, "a liar, a damned liar, and an expert witness." For expert witness we must now read Parliamentary official.

In a Sunday contemporary we read of the late Mr. Alfred Rothschild that "as a financier he was the diplomatist among the famous Rothschild triumvirate that piled Pelions of new glory on the Ossas of the old firm's fame . . . he looked the beau-ideal of Victorian aristocracy with a touch of Eastern flexibility." This is sad stuff. Mr. Alfred Rothschild was a very amiable, rather indolent, and delicate person, who for some years had taken little part in the business of St. Swithin's Lane. He was a patron of the drama and of art, but he was no more a financier, a diplomatist, or an aristocrat than he was a Chinese mandarin.

The majority of the House of Lords are in favour of proportional representation and against the alternative vote. The majority of the House of Commons are in favour of the alternative vote and against proportional representation. The country, as Mr. Bonar Law said, does not care two pins about one or the other. We will go further than Mr. Bonar Law, and add that not one man in ten in either House of Parliament understands the working of either proposal. This unintelligible wrangle has been compromised by passing the Reform Bill without either amendment upon the condition that Commissioners be appointed to draw up a scheme for applying proportional representation as an experiment to 100 selected constituencies. If the scheme be approved by both Houses of Parliament it will be added to the Reform Bill before the General Election.

If the scheme be adopted, 100 members of the new Parliament would be branded with the letters "P.R.," and would sit as goats amongst sheep. We are willing to lay long odds that the House of Commons will object to the scheme, and therefore both "P.R." and the alternative vote will be lost. Not that it will matter, for under the new franchise the preponderance of numbers and ignorance over property and knowledge will be as 16 to 1; so that no mechanical contrivance can save the situation. We do not know what Mr. Chamberlain meant by saying that the House of Commons had a hundredfold more interest in the franchise than the House of Lords. We should have thought the reverse was the truth. The House of Lords represents property, and the House of Commons represents numbers. It is property which requires protection from numbers, and we are surprised that Mr. Chamberlain should repeat the puerile fallacy about the Lords having no constituencies. The constituents of the House of Lords are, as Charles Kingsley said long ago, every man who possesses a picture, an American clock, or an electroplated spoon.

The State Socialists are evidently determined to manage every action of our lives from the cradle to the grave, and from our getting up in the morning to our lying down at night. Their latest ambition is to cook our dinners for us; and for this function Lord Rhondda has appointed one Alderman Spencer, of Halifax, "Director of National Kitchens." Will someone ask in the House of Lords, what is the gastronomic record and the present salary of Alderman Spencer? Somehow we do not associate the Town Council of Halifax with the higher reaches or subtler depths of the culinary art. Who is Alderman Spencer, and why should he rule over our stomachs?

Sir F. E. Smith scored an emphatic success at the annual meeting of the New York Bar Association, at which over a thousand lawyers assembled to greet him. Ex-Governor Hughes was in the chair, and the Duke of Devonshire, the French and Italian Ambassadors, Senator Elihu Root, and Mr. Secretary Lansing were present. The Americans are great practitioners and judges of oratory; and we may well be proud to know that our Attorney-General's speech was received with enthusiasm as the statesmanlike utterance of a great political lawyer. Sir Frederick's chief point was that his hearers should seriously consider President Wilson's proposal of a League of Nations without waiting until the war was over.

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

THE election of Dr. Henson to the See of Hereford having been duly confirmed at Bow Church, and his consecration having been duly performed in Westminster Abbey, that incident may be regarded as closed, and all personalities cleared from an important question. In what we have to say on a subject that must interest all serious men, we wish it to be understood that we do not reflect upon this or that individual. It is our desire to discuss a matter vitally important to what the Dean of St. Paul's calls "institutional Christianity" without offence to any man or any memory. The question is whether it is a good or a bad thing for the Church of England that men should be admitted to her holy orders, and sometimes promoted to her highest honours, who do not believe in the physical or historical truth of her cardinal doctrines. The fact that many men are so admitted (the promotion is really of little consequence) who do not accept as physical facts the cardinal doctrines of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Miracles is, we think, notorious. The letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Oxford—and here we must apologise for illustrating an argument by a particular instance—really came to this, when stripped of a skilful nebulosity of phrasing, that it is expedient for the Church to retain and reward an eloquent preacher, a clever controversialist, and an energetic organiser, without pressing him too hard about his spiritual views, just as an anxious client will retain an eminent barrister. We do not think that this is an unfair interpretation of the Primate's letter, though we do not expect his Grace to admit it. The Bishop of Oxford and Lord Halifax do not think it is expedient for the Church to retain "counsel for the defence" in this way; they think it is most inexpedient; they are in favour of applying the strictest doctrinal test to those who enjoy the privileges and wield the authority of the Church of England; they are shocked and angry that there should be any paltering or word-splitting in the matter. And a great many people agree with the Bishop of Oxford and Lord Halifax. On the other hand, a great many people agree with the Primate. Which party is in the right?

Writing from the point of view of Erastian or institutional Christianity, we think that the Archbishop of Canterbury is indisputably right. Dean Inge, with the clearness and courage which we have come to associate with his name, separates spiritual from institutional Christianity. Spiritual Christianity is the religion of the individual, the real Gospel of Christ. Institutional Christianity is the religion of the State, the Gospel of Christ as it became after its alliance with the temporal power, an affair of politics, an instrument of emperors and popes. The Dean of St. Paul's admits, in his article in the 'Quarterly Review,' that institutional Christianity stands condemned by the present war, which proves that the religion of the State Churches has no effect upon the conduct of men. Spiritual or individual Christianity, the Gospel unspotted from the world, is guiltless as regards the war. That, however, by the way; it is not our point, which is that a State Church, the instrument of institutional Christianity, whether Roman or Anglican, and whether situate in London or Madrid, must, if it is to exist, be governed by human expediency, and guided in some degree by worldly prudence. We have no doubt that if the theological tests of the Bishop of Oxford and Lord Halifax were rigorously and logically applied, many, if not most, of the ablest men would be driven out of the Church of England, which would lose, first, prestige, then protection, and finally sink into a sect. Perhaps that is what the Bishop of Oxford and Lord Halifax want. We should regard it as a great calamity.

The immortal monologue of Bishop Blougram to Gigadibs, the literary man, disposes, in airy satirical fashion, of a problem that need not concern us. Blougram entered the Church of Rome and became a bishop from the mere love of the sensuality of power—the well-furnished cabin, the hutch rustling with sufficient straw, salutations in the market-place—and after all, as he whispered to his brother agnostic, there was the chance that the Church might be right. Such cases must be

very rare in any State Church. We can only remember one case of an Anglican bishop who in his social hours admitted his infidelity, Lord Bristol, the Bishop of Derry. And he, besides being, like most of the Herveys in the eighteenth century, half-mad, probably entered the Church not from choice, but because he was the younger son of a peer. A Blougram or a Bristol is happily an impossibility to-day, a monster of a bygone age. But the Dean of St. Paul's has raised, in his striking way, the question of the relations between spiritual and institutional Christianity. Is the spiritual Christian justified in accepting, with mental reservations of his own choosing, the dogmatic tests of institutional Christianity? The answer must depend on his opinion of the value or necessity of institutional Christianity. We consider the maintenance of the Church of England to be of supreme importance to the State, unless we are all to be swallowed up in the ocean of a soulless, greedy Socialism. It is much, very much, that there should be in every parish an English gentleman whose calling is, by precept and example, to elevate the minds and purify the conduct of his neighbours. But if institutional Christianity is to remain as a part of our national life the Church of England must accept some of the conditions of all human institutions, such as expediency, compromise, the abstention from pressing too far logical or theological conclusions. Persistence in the policy recently advocated by the Bishops of London and Oxford and the English Church Union can only issue in the relegation of the Church of England to such a place as she may secure in the scuffling anarchy of competing sects.

"THE EMPEROR OF THE WEST."

IN the title-page of the extensive catalogue recently issued by Mr. Murray of Albemarle Street, there is a quaint little woodcut of a man-of-war, with the following description: "The ship adopted as his emblem by Lieut. John Murray when he retired from the service and founded the business in 1768." Around this felicitously chosen device—the vessel is gliding in full sail over smooth waters—Charles Lamb might have written an essay teeming with charm and interest, giving vivid glimpses of the brilliant world in which the ex-lieutenant's son was so notable a figure. As a publisher his career may be said to have been unique. No member of "the trade" had such a genius for his calling or exerted it with so much success. A boy of fifteen at the death of his father, he two years later became an active partner in the business, and when only twenty-five made a fresh start on his own account. Thanks to energy, enterprise, and excellent judgment, he quickly acquired a status second to none in Fleet Street, and was already regarded as a formidable rival by the magnates of the Row. At thirty-one, by a supremely bold stroke, he definitely established his position in the front rank. This was the founding of the *Quarterly Review*; three years later he published 'Childe Harold,' which had been declined by William Miller, of 50, Albemarle Street, as containing "sceptical stanzas," and unjustifiably attacking Lord Elgin. This event, from a business point of view the most important in Murray's career, was followed during the same year by his migration from Fleet Street to the West End, where, having purchased the squeamish Mr. Miller's business, he established himself in the famous building which has been occupied by him and his successors for over a century. There, owing largely to his connection with Byron, he became not only the most celebrated publisher of his day, but of all time. Up to that period the members of his calling had been looked upon as mere tradesmen, whose treatment of authors was mostly oppressive, and not infrequently the reverse of straightforward. Murray, however, proved a notable exception to this category. Open-handed, generous-minded, essentially a gentleman not only by birth but in spirit, he won the appreciation, and, in many instances, the friendship of several of his most distinguished contemporaries in the world of politics and letters. If his relations with Byron conferred on him a peculiar

prestige, the poet derived from them an advantage which in his better moods he was not slow to recognise. When the prey of rancour or irritability, he would write to Murray in a strain half-bantering, half-abusive, which, though nowadays extremely amusing reading, must have seriously taxed his correspondent's tolerance. But such outbursts were more than redeemed by his attitude when Murray, as occasionally happened, was threatened with trouble as his publisher. In regard, for instance, to contemplated proceedings for the publication of 'Cain,' Byron showed himself at his best. "I can only say," he wrote, "*me me adsum qui feci*; that any proceedings directed against you, I beg, may be transferred to me, who am willing and *ought* to endure them all; that if you have lost money by the publication, I will refund any or all of the copyright; that I desire you will say that both *you* and *Mr. Gifford* remonstrated against the publication, as also *Mr. Hobhouse*; that *I* alone occasioned it, and *I* alone am the person who, either legally or otherwise, should bear the burthen. If they prosecute, I will come to England—that is, if by meeting it in my own person, I can save yours. Let me know: you shan't suffer for me, if I can help it. Make any use of this letter you please." Such a passage made, it must be acknowledged, handsome amends for various ebullitions that would have aroused resentment even in a long-suffering valet. Those were the days of Eldon and Ellenborough, and it behoved "the trade" to be cautious, though Murray was far from meriting Byron's pungent taunt: "Mr. John Murray, of Albemarle Street, the most timid of God's publishers," elicited by a display of very necessary prudence, in which he, no doubt, had the support of John Wilson Croker, his standing counsel on literary matters and leading contributor to the *Quarterly Review*. It is not impossible, by the way, that adverse influence on the part of Croker inspired Disraeli with the enmity which produced the scathing presentment of Nicholas Rigby in 'Coningsby.' Murray's one disastrous adventure had been his heavy financial backing of the *Representative*, a newspaper suggested by Disraeli, then a sanguine journalistic tyro scarcely out of his teens. After running for six months the paper proved a hopeless failure, and disappeared from circulation, Murray being the loser of nearly thirty thousand pounds. Disraeli's sole fault had been excessive enthusiasm, to which Murray had too easily yielded. But the renowned publisher found it hard to forgive the youthful prompter of the enterprise, whose persuasive powers had involved him to an extent that not only injured his purse but his *amour propre*. Disraeli's endeavours to propitiate him were unsuccessful, partly, he suspected, owing to the influence of Lockhart, for whom he thenceforward did not hesitate to show his antipathy, whenever an opportunity presented itself. If he entertained these suspicions respecting Lockhart it is quite intelligible that he extended them to Croker, who was even more in Murray's confidence. At all events, his hostility to the acetic *Quarterly* reviewer was implacable, being unsated by even the mordant attack in 'Coningsby.' Croker himself always professed to be unconscious of having given offence, and stated his case at length in a remarkable letter to a correspondent who had called his attention to the subject, in the course of which he complacently declared that he had not read one of his assailant's novels, an avowal which, if it reached Disraeli's ears, can hardly have tended to diminish his animosity!

After Byron's death Murray's position was to some extent shorn of its consequence, but he still remained the prince of publishers—the "Emperor of the West," as his friends admiringly entitled him—and his drawing-room in Albemarle Street, now classic ground, was to the last frequented by the most notable wits and writers of the day, prominent among them being Walter Scott, to whom he was especially a *persona grata*. "By all means do what the Emperor says," wrote Scott to Lockhart in 1828, "he is what Emperor Nap was not, 'much a gentleman,'" a tribute which poor Scott was unable to extend to another publishing potentate, Archibald Constable, the pompous braggart who had been so largely instrumental in his ruin.

On Murray's decease in 1843 his son, John the Third, reigned in his stead, fully maintaining the repute and prosperity of the house, though hardly endowed with his father's originality and business genius. But in hospitality and courtliness he was no less conspicuous, making the famous drawing-room still a distinguished rendezvous, as it remains under the genial sway of his son and successor, John the Fourth. To him it has fallen to incorporate under the Albemarle Street roof the almost equally celebrated business that originated in Cornhill. On the title-page before us, in a single line of cold print, is conveyed the regrettable fact that the historic house of Smith Elder and Company, with all its resplendent associations, is a thing of the past. Suddenly, by a cruel edict of Fate, a dark cloud alighted on the scene that had so long been sunned by prosperity. The able directing mind had passed away with none to replace it, and a name that to lovers of literature had for generations been a household word was irrevocably extinguished. Seldom has so swift a tragedy overtaken a great and successful concern. Only the famous magazine in the familiar orange cover, to which Thackeray gave the send-off, remains. Long may it preserve under its new auspices its proud and cherished traditions!

THE ELECTRIC LAMP INDUSTRY.

THE keen and widespread interest aroused by discoveries of German control in key industries has led inevitably to an exaggerated estimate of German interest in many branches of British manufacture. It is, for example, freely stated that British electrical engineering is permeated with German influence; and the same unjustifiable impression prevails in regard to one of the most important branches of electrical manufacture—the production of lamps. This impression is encouraged by the efforts of agents who, in times of peace, found it easier and more profitable to buy from abroad than to make at home, and are still, in spite of tonnage difficulties, besieging the Board of Trade with applications for licences to import lamps.

The policy of the nation, and of every political party within it, being strongly in favour of home production, it becomes obvious that importation should not be encouraged if British makers can prove their independence of outside sources. While it is true that, before the war, British makers depended in varying degrees upon the Continent for supplies of component parts, it is now demonstrable that they are able to carry out the entire process of lamp-making from raw materials available within the country or the Empire. In order to support this general contention to the point of making it convincing, a brief review of the actual process of lamp-making is required. The essential parts of an electric lamp are (1) the filament; (2) the leading-in wires (which connect the filament with the terminals in the cap); (3) the cap; and (4) the bulb.

The filaments of the earliest electric lamps, which arose out of the inventions of Edison in America and Swan in England, were of carbon; and carbon continued to be used for all lamps until, in the 'nineties, the attention of investigators was turned to the rare metals—tantalum, osmium, and tungsten. Practically all the lamps now in use for ordinary illumination have filaments of pure-drawn tungsten wire. Tungsten is derived from ores which are found in adequate quantities within the Empire. Although tungsten filaments had been freely imported for lamp-making, two British lamp factories had, before the war, taken steps to acquire the skill necessary to produce filaments equal to the best that Germany could provide. Thanks to this far-sighted enterprise, the British electric industry was, from the first day of war, independent of outside sources for this essential part of the lamp.

In every electric lamp the filament is supported on pieces of special wire. Molybdenum and thorium are constituents of this wire; and both these elements are found within the Empire. Therefore in this case also the supply is independent of foreign countries.

The leading-in wires used to be made exclusively of platinum, since that metal was the only one available which had the same co-efficient of expansion as glass and so made a perfect seal for the vacuum. Most of the world's supply of platinum comes (or came) from Russia; none of the ore is found within the British Empire. The necessity of using such a costly material, and one derived from sources liable to be cut off at any moment, led British inventors to seek a substitute. They succeeded; and for the past ten years an alloy has been used in place of platinum, and is now adopted in the majority of lamps manufactured.

The caps of electric lamps involve two parts—a brass stamping and the filling of "vitrinite" or other cement which fastens the cap to the bulb. As regards the stamping, it is almost superfluous to remark that there is no place in the world better equipped for work of this description than Birmingham. Nevertheless the bulk of the lamp caps used in Great Britain before the war did not come from Birmingham, but from the Continent. The reason lay—as in the case of the finished lamp—in the enormous quantity which the Continental factories produced. Making for our market as well as their own, they were able to sell appreciably cheaper than any British factory could have turned them out, even had it enjoyed a monopoly of the British demand. Under such conditions any British lamp maker who started to manufacture his own caps would have been imposing a heavy handicap upon his business. Until the war broke out, nearly all the British factories used imported caps; but as soon as the supply was cut off there was not the least difficulty in getting them made by British brass workers.

The "vitrinite" which was almost universally used as a filling came for the most part from a factory in Holland. At least one British lamp works, however, had taken care—long before the war—to make a certain quantity of this material, and so to obtain a full working knowledge of the necessary plant and constituents. Therefore, when the war broke out, it was quite a simple matter to extend the plant and to produce a quantity sufficient for the needs of this and other lamp factories.

A somewhat more complicated story is involved in the production of glass bulbs for electric lamps. Early in the history of the lamp industry, efforts were made by British makers to obtain supplies of bulbs from British glass works. Changes in old-established methods of working were required to produce bulbs in large quantities at a reasonable price; and these changes were so strenuously resisted by the Trade Unions that the business was driven to Germany. That country, again, enjoyed such a large output that as time went on it became more and more difficult—indeed, to the point of impossibility—to establish a rival source of production in Great Britain. At the outbreak of war there were only one or two bulb factories at work in this country. The Germans made determined efforts, first by dumping and afterwards by direct but very subtle negotiations, to get hold of these works, but they were unsuccessful, thanks to a far-sighted policy which resisted the most tempting offer, and persisted in keeping the works under British control. This policy was overwhelmingly justified by subsequent events. Not only were the works invaluable as a source of bulbs, but they have rendered great service to the country in connection with other forms of glass production.

There was no reason, either on the score of raw material supplies or as regards the training of labour, why these works could not have been extended rapidly to meet the entire demand for bulbs; but owing to war restrictions on the supply of skilled labour, building materials, and machinery, this programme could not be carried out. Recently, however, two British lamp makers, realising the necessity of co-operation, and acting with the assistance of the Board of Trade, have acquired a very important American invention for the mechanical production of lamp bulbs on a large scale. When the plant is brought over and installed here it will enable the output of bulbs to be increased to such an extent

that this country will be completely independent of outside sources of supply.

The recent development of half-watt or gas-filled electric lamps has introduced another essential item into the lamp-making catalogue. The gas introduced into the bulb is either nitrogen or argon, and as both these gases are present in the atmosphere they are not the monopoly of Germany nor of any other country. It is true, however, that no plant for the extraction of argon on a commercial scale existed in this country at the outbreak of war, but arrangements have been made for the erection of plant large enough to meet all the requirements of the industry.

Apart from these items, there is nothing in the making of an electric lamp except organisation and testing.

This somewhat technical exposition of the component parts of a lamp is necessary to show that there is no reason why the British lamp industry should be regarded as dependent upon any outside sources. With a little goodwill during the transition period between the small output of the present and the large output of the future, British makers will be able to supply lamps as good in quality and as cheap as anybody in the world. This being so, the insidious efforts made by agents to induce Government Departments to give licences for importation should be combated to the utmost. The development of a national and imperial policy of production will make this contention secure. Great Britain, with a population of 48,000,000, produced 25,000,000 lamps each year. Germany, with 70,000,000 people, produced 110,000,000. The requirements of the British Empire alone would bring the British output to 40,000,000 or 50,000,000; and the opening up of business in friendly markets abroad should bring this total up to 60,000,000 or 70,000,000. Each million more lamps made in this country means a million less made in Germany, thus bringing the costs of production in the two countries nearer to equality, and putting a stop to the enrichment of Germany at the expense of Great Britain. Given a reasonable measure of encouragement, British lamp production might rise to about 60,000,000 seven years after the war, providing employment for many tens of thousands of hands and stimulating many related industries. The British makers have the necessary capital, courage, ambition, and organising capacity for this development. They have proved that in the arrangement of manufacturing methods and in care and accuracy of their testing processes they are on many counts superior to Continental rivals. British labour, moreover, has shown itself better than any other in the operations of lamp making, which offer scope for a wide range of skill and provide opportunities for earning good wages. All that is required is better co-operation amongst manufacturers for the future and, in addition, a recognition in Government circles and amongst the public generally of the conditions essential to the building up of a British industry to replace German importation.

LOVE IN A COTTAGE.

IT has been a commonplace of fiction and drama since society began that money is a snare; that riches corrupt the heart and stupefy the soul; that contented virtue and happy love avoid the proud mansion and prefer the humble cot. The mass of authority in support of this contention is too overwhelming to be met except by avoidance. Does it not include even the Author of the Parables? We will accordingly not venture to deny outright the proposition that a man's treasure in things mental and spiritual is usually inversely proportionate to the amount of his worldly gear. We will simply suggest that there may be more exceptions than is commonly assumed to the terrible rule of the young man who had great possessions, and that wealth, though it may be a potent corrupter of souls, is not the sole enemy of mankind. There is, for example, poverty. Possibly it is because we have more knowledge of the private lives of people with

modest uncorrupting competencies than of those who stand pointblank within the range of Lucifer's golden artillery; but personally we have seen more men of our time spoiled by poverty than by wealth. We have, moreover, a shrewd suspicion (though we are probably quite wrong) that neither wealth nor poverty is really to blame in nine out of ten cases where worldly circumstances appear to have got the better of our fellows. There is a saying of Shakespeare, recently popularised by a more modern playwright:

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

In other words, no man not born to be your humble servant need be cowed either by wealth or by the lack of it.

Meanwhile, as we look round upon our acquaintances, we are tempted to wonder at what stage precisely the corrupting influence of riches begins to make itself felt within the brain and heart of their possessor. Does it begin at £500 a year, or £5,000, or £50,000? At what point does the eye of the needle become too fine for our several friends? Is B. necessarily brutalised because he can send his son to Winchester, or C. indubitably damned because he can afford to indulge his taste for fine engravings? When does a knowledge of the classical authors, expensively acquired, begin to dehumanise a man, or a taste in furniture, which is not to be won without purchase, impair his spiritual sensibilities? How well may we be dressed without losing our hold upon true felicity? These are some of the questions we would raise, not necessarily as a confutation of the commonplace with which we started, but as evidence that we are puzzled by some of its implications. We are a little disturbed when we see people about us in obvious and deadly peril of being well-off, and yet living apparently harmless and contented lives, satisfied of the affection of their wives and children, kind and disinterested in many of their dealings, appreciative of the art and thought of their time, and of all that makes even the infinitely superior poor man's life worth living. Can it be that these friends of ours conceal beneath a smiling mask the emptiness and vanity, the despair and conviction of irremediable offences against heaven, which are, as we are so prevailingly assured, the invariable results and accompaniment of wealth? Somehow we are unable to credit our well-to-do but outwardly amiable and contented friend with the extraordinary powers of dissimulation which would appear to be necessary for so successful a hiding-away of the skeleton in his gilded cupboard. We can only suppose that he is one of those exceptions without which no human rule could ever be really proved.

We are even a little puzzled by the particular theatrical case we have in mind—Mr. Somerset Maugham's "Love in a Cottage," with which Miss Marie Löhr has so gallantly opened her career at the Globe Theatre as an actress manager. Wealth is the villain of Mr. Maugham's morality. Wealth drives the millionaire of the piece to put a bullet through his brain. Wealth is apparently engaged at every turn of the story in making life sordid and miserable for all whom it defiles; and our heroine is finally driven to renounce her fortune as the condition of attaining happiness and the love of an honest man. Yet, when we look into the matter, and cast off the spell of tradition at the back of our author's theme, we are soon tempted to ask whether Mr. Maugham has even proved his particular case. His millionaire does not shoot himself because he is rich, but because he does not know how to spend his money. The poor suitor of the play is not happy because he is poor, but because he is healthy and intelligent. The heroine's riches corrupt nobody in the play—not even the heroine herself. The disagreeable unheroic people who surround her are, it is true, corrupted; but it is their poverty and not their wealth which corrupts them. The vices revealed to her by her wealth are the vices of people who want riches and not of people who have them. Mr. Maugham's play is a boomerang so far as his chief thesis is concerned. How hardly shall a poor man enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, he seems to say. Is not the poor man liable to envy, hatred, and all

uncharitableness at the sight of his more prosperous fellows? May he not even be tempted to fraud, or to flat extortion?

Perhaps it is well that these should rather be our own reflections and deductions than the proposition which Mr. Maugham ostensibly offers for our acceptance. The poor, though we have hinted a doubt whether they are necessarily more blessed than the rich, are undoubtedly more numerous. "Love in a Cottage" appeals personally to a wider public than love in a mansion; and if, in order to extol the one it is necessary to depreciate the other, let our author by all means aim at the greatest happiness of the greatest number. We may surely pardon the preacher who assures us the grapes are sour which, if known to be sweet, might raise a thirst of Tantalus. The apples of wealth, says our millionaire in the play, are dust and ashes in the mouth. Fortified with so vehement an assurance, we can the more cheerfully return home to our bread and cheese, sparing a compassionate thought for Midas and his lady as they disappear from view in their new Mercedes to houses unblest by any of those humanising influences which surround the lives of the more fortunate persons with barely enough to live upon.

A good tract should not be in the nature of a boomerang, and we do not think it would be difficult to make out a better case against the corruption of riches than Mr. Maugham has actually achieved. But Mr. Maugham, after all, is a dramatist and not a teacher. He has written a play in which Miss Löhr, as the rich heroine, and Mr. Sydney Valentine as the rich commercial adventurer, are able to make a series of personal triumphs in the postures assigned to them. Mr. Valentine is one of the finest actors at present practising. He almost succeeds in turning what we fear is merely an awful moral example into a humanly tragic figure. Miss Löhr exhibits a sure technical accomplishment in all she has to do, but Mr. Maugham's heroine does not very generously repay her.

MUSIC: SOME CONCERTS.

IN these busy days concert-goers have not the time to spare for listening to inordinately long works. One concert, one work, may be quite another matter. The crowd that went, for instance, to hear 'Geron-tius' at the Albert Hall on Saturday went for nothing but the oratorio, and enjoyed itself accordingly. But to place a forty-minute pianoforte concerto, such as the Brahms in D minor, with its tiresome, over-developed, over-elaborated repetitions of excellent subject-matter, in the very middle of a long orchestral scheme at a recent Queen's Hall concert, was the kind of mistake that Sir Henry Wood can easily avoid in future. On the other hand, why not cut it? Surely the time has arrived for abbreviating the "heavenly length" of Brahms, and even of Schubert, when tenuous spinning-out of material renders them tedious. The talent, the brilliancy, the masculine energy of Miss Adela Verne were hard put to it, splendidly as she played; and, worse luck, her instrument did not help her. The total excision of a *mauvais quart-d'heure* would have made the whole thing delightful.

The rather more "modern" concerto of Rachmaninov (C minor, No. 2), which Mr. Benno Moise-witsch played at the Philharmonic two days later, suffered from the same defect, but, as it was better fitted for the soloist—in this case also a very gifted one—one did not notice it so much. This being the 800th concert, the traditions of the Philharmonic Society demanded the presence of some distinguished singer almost inexorably as it required the customary bust of Beethoven; but none was forthcoming. War, perhaps, has changed these things. By the way, the analytical programme, referring to the 500th concert, in 1877, said that the 'Liebestod' from 'Tristan' was then sung for the first time here by "Mr." Osgood, which made many people who read it wonder why this soprano excerpt should have been entrusted to a male voice. The printer's error did an injustice

to the memory of Mrs. Aline Osgood, who was one of the best American singers of her day.

The band of the Coldstreams, resplendent in full panoply of scarlet and gold, like a vision out of the past, lent brightness to a desperately foggy day at the concert in honour of Major Mackenzie Rogan's jubilee in the Army. It suggested, moreover, certain spirits hovering about Queen's Hall, listening with critical ear—notably one Dan Godfrey, who was the first bandmaster in the British Army (bandmaster, not "Director of Music") to receive the commission of a lieutenant in the Guards. Again, Cav. Zavertal, whose Royal Artillery string band was once the "gunner's" pride, must surely have been there, waiting like Dan Godfrey for mention of his name. I fancied, too, that I heard the quiet chuckle of Arthur Sullivan when Sir Thomas Beecham was conducting his 'Macbeth' Overture with much eccentric gyration of arm and leg, and the marvellous clarinets were tearing through the lightning passages which he originally scored for his beloved fiddles. Composers happily still in the flesh, if less lively as conductors, were also present to recall peaceful Victorian days—to wit, Sir Frederick Cowen, Mr. Edward German, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie. The last-named made the "presentation" in a speech that paid well-merited tribute to Major Rogan's industry and success in the task of improving military music in this country. It is quite true that our military bands have done a great deal to help in educating the musical taste of "the masses." The contrast between the fine regimental band of to-day and that of fifty years ago, with its bullying foreign bandmaster, its braying tone, and deafening drum, is extraordinary.

THE APATHIST'S APOLOGY.

Choke me the chattering crowds, which hourly prate
Of battles and embroilments of the State,
For better survey of mankind's mishaps
Vexing with daily pins outlandish maps,
Who in our lurid Babel gape intent
On the trans-shifting scenes of Government,
Nor would not mark at all what seasons pass,
Save by subverting of the party-glass.

Thrice happier he to whom red leaves bewray
The irreparable ebbing of his day,
Who, present at the bridal of the spring,
Hath seen her clouds whitely processioning,
And from a homely lattice hath beheld
Her trailing showers drop fatness on the field;
He the soon coming of his July knows,
By the repullulation of the rose,
Telling the time by flowers, and makes of these
His Calendar and Ephemerides.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE GOVERNMENT AND LABOUR.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—The Government's extraordinary record of muddle and mischief in connection with labour questions is further exemplified by the new $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonus Order. By granting a general advance to all piece-workers this Order completely upsets the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Order of January 10th, which had been framed in consultation with the employers and accepted by the unions. The previous Order excluded pieceworkers generally from the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonus, but authorised "adjustments" in the case of men whose piece rates were low and whose aggregate earnings would have suffered by comparison with the time-worker getting the bonus. The provision for "adjustments" was properly safeguarded and fully covered all such cases. Conferences between the National Employers' Federation and the unions had been held to settle the details, and matters were taking a relatively smooth course when, without

notice, the newspapers suddenly announce a new Order granting an all-round advance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to piece-workers, irrespective of whether they earn 50s. or 150s.

A hopeless situation arises. The unions, taking thought for men with low piece rates, for whom $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is often insufficient, are determined that, as the advance is to apply to all piece-workers, it shall be at the top level of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But, as $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only is authorised, we are faced with a new and fruitful source of unrest.

The National Employers' Federation, in a letter of protest to the Minister of Labour, draw attention not only to the effect of the new Order, but to the manner in which it has been promulgated. Except for stray newspaper paragraphs, no notice whatever has reached them, and they demand that in future Orders vitally affecting industry, instead of receiving this haphazard publicity, should be issued through the regular channels as paid advertisements.

Your obedient servant,

NATIONAL EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION.

THE SLAVS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—The creation of an absolutely independent Czecho-Slovak State is by no means a "dream of moon-struck idealists," as Mr. R. Lee suggests. Neither is it the cry of a single party of Czech Sinn Feiners. It is the desire of an entire nation numbering ten millions, as is proved by the fact that on January 6th at a congress held in Prague a resolution was passed unanimously by all Czech deputies without distinction of parties. The resolution was suppressed by the Austrian Censor, but from Dr. Seidler's speech in the Reichsrat on January 22nd we learn that it did not contain even a distant echo of dynastic or State allegiance, but was ready to accept international support. Dr. Seidler also stated that "the resolution demands the right of self-determination in order to dissolve the existing unity of the State and to assure full independence and sovereignty. It gives the impression of having been conceived in a sense absolutely hostile to the State, and must be indignantly rejected by every Austrian Government with all the means in its power."

Seeing that the Czecho-Slovaks, through their legitimate representatives, unanimously demand absolute independence, it is clear that the practical application of Mr. Lloyd George's principle of self-determination must mean independence for Bohemia. And if the firm determination and sacrifices of a whole nation count at all, the aim appears by no means fantastic, unreal, or impracticable.—Yours truly,

VLADIMIR NOSEK, Secretary.

Czech Press Bureau, 231, Strand, London, W.C.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—The magnificent ignorance of his subject betrayed in the letter of Mr. Lee upon Bohemia and the Slovaks is delightfully amusing, but yet it may be injurious. He, of course, adopts the German formula, "belittle and insult the Slav." He does not know that the Bohemians and Moravians, a compact population of eleven millions, are in commerce, manufactures, education, museums, etc., in advance of the Germans, as admitted to me by a Breslau professor. He ignores the fact that there are twenty-seven millions of Slavs in Central Europe, all our friends. Germany can be beaten through Austria, and the lives of tens of thousands of our men saved, and future wars blocked by giving these Slavs freedom from German tyranny.

It is ignorance of this organised power in Central Europe and neglect of it that has prolonged the war. The sneer "Slovak Sinn Fein" shows the malice and emphasises the ignorance. The Sinn Feiner is a friend and ally of the German. The Slovak and the

Czech hate with the most intense hatred of centuries everything German. But the Bohemian could give the town Mr. Lee dates from many a lesson in town beautifying and in scientific and commercial education; and the Slovak's art, especially in wood-carving and lace work, would, I think, lift up the work in the town of Bury.

Bohemia for centuries was a powerful kingdom; her geographical situation is of supreme importance to-day; and, as M. Cheradame and the Italians have said, for the peace of Europe Bohemia must be released from German rule; and to-day Austrian rule is wholly under Berlin's thrall. Mr. Lee does not even refer to Shakespeare correctly, and Shakespeare's "desert country near the sea" was an echo of Bohemia's conquests of the sandy wastes on the Baltic and other conquests.

JAMES BAKER, F.R.G.S.,

Author of "Austria, Her People,
and Their Homelands."

Sewelle Villa, Clifton, February 2nd, 1918.

THE HORRORS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—In your issue of February 2nd you say, "We have never heard or read one single word of condemnation of these atrocities from any British Minister." Surely, Sir, it must momentarily have escaped your memory that there are numbers of absolutely defenceless British subjects in Russia, whose lives, liberty, and property would immediately be at stake did our Government give the slightest cause of offence to the crazy idealists who are now (temporarily, let us hope) in power.—Yours faithfully,

C. F. ABDY WILLIAMS.

Milford-on-Sea, February 3, 1918.

[All the British who wished to leave Russia had an opportunity of doing so with Sir George Buchanan. Those who remain do so at their own risk. The Government do not condemn the atrocities because they would thereby condemn themselves.—Ed. S. R.]

ENGLISH PLAYS IN PARIS.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—It is a pity that dramatic criticism in this country is written, with few exceptions, with one eye on the advertisement columns. For what critic dare tell the public that with very few exceptions—let us say three—the modern English actress is not the equal of her colleagues in foreign countries or of her predecessors here? Where is the successor of Miss Ellen Terry, of Miss Marie Tempest, of Miss Mary Moore, of Miss Nellie Farren, and of many others of recent years? Even their most fervent admirers would scarcely claim any of these positions for Miss Gladys Cooper, Miss Marie Löhr, or for any one of those many young ladies whose only claim to appear on the stage is a pretty face and most ladylike manners. It is true we are better off for actors; for the position of these latter does not depend on their face or figure, or on the value of their pearl necklaces.

These remarks have been suggested by recent articles of M. Adolphe Brisson in *Le Temps*. It appears that recently in Paris some adaptations of English plays have been staged, perhaps because the French dramatists have other things to do than write plays, or because the French wish to pay a compliment to their gallant Allies. M. Brisson, who is as representative a French dramatic critic as is Mr. Walkley with us, complains of the puerility of the English plays he has seen, and of their lack of relationship to real life. He wonders how such childish stuff—either pantomime or sickly sentimental—can please the public of London or of New York. An old reader of the paper, quoted by M. Brisson, attributes this success of the insipid plays in England to the influence of the Anglican and

Nonconformist churches. He probably exaggerates the power of the Church, for its influence on the thinking part of the upper and middle classes has been decreasing since the Church has ceased to attract men of brains. Its utility has made it lose its influence in matters of morals.

The decline of the British drama is rather to be attributed to the advent of the capitalist, who takes a theatre not to present plays so much as to make money. The heavy hand of the late Mr. George Edwardes did more harm to the theatre than ever could any prelate or Nonconformist. Before his day the "Gaiety" was the home of witty burlesque, with a cast as renowned as that of the "Variétés"; but who has the faintest recollection of any of the numerous "Girls" presented by Mr. Edwardes? If you make monetary success the chief aim of a theatre, you have to appeal to the most numerous, but least educated, section of the audience. Consequently art, passion, progress stand no chance; all is sacrificed to the tickling of the groundlings and to the gaining of chuckles from the full-fed stalls.

It is a pity that this capitalistic régime should have occurred at a moment when there appeared a chance of a renaissance of English drama after the gloomy interregnum that followed the reign of Goldsmith and Sheridan. For after Pinero had written 'The Second Mrs. Tanqueray,' and when Wilde was presenting his witty, impertinent comedies, and H. A. Jones, Grundy, Carton, Haddon Chambers, Shaw, Mrs. Craigie, and R. L. Stevenson were contributing plays, there did seem that a reconnection between literature and the theatre was at hand. But, except Sir J. M. Barrie, has any later serious dramatist gained the success he deserved? What would Stephen Phillips, Granville Barker, Stanley Houghton, St. John Hankin have written if they had been encouraged?

Yours faithfully,

DE V. PAYEN-PAYNE.

Savile Club.

THE STATE AND THE DOCTOR.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—One probable result of a State medical service would be the dismissal from it of "M.D., F.R.C.S." It is no wonder that he feels the want of a fair day's pay and a pension. But he is never likely to get either for treating troublesome patients who have little the matter with them in the truculent manner he describes. I, too, once replied to a physician, who asked me what was the matter, that I had come to him to be told. But, so far from evincing your correspondent's desire to say "Go to the devil" in answer to this threadbare repartee of the consulting-room, he only laughed and said, "You mean you want to be vetted." He then briskly proceeded to business, which took an hour and cost me three guineas. His advice was excellent value, and I have since sent him five other patients. But out of regard for my purse I endeavour not to trouble him unnecessarily myself, though, being a sensible man, I expect he would be delighted to "vet" me every day on the same terms. Under a State medical service the boot would be on the other foot. Instead of paying for his own folly the *malade imaginaire* would get a good deal of it paid for by other people.—Your obedient servant,

J. DANVERS POWER.

SIR,—Those who will benefit from the nationalisation of the medical profession will be the lower strata of the medical profession and of the public. But the medical profession will become a trade instead of remaining a profession. Medical schools will have socially inferior and relatively poor material with which to work; and that material will have no aim but a trade aim, no aspirations and past history to elevate its ambitions. Scientific work will only be done if it can be made "to pay." Both the public and the medical profession are likely to lose by this. If, instead of destructive criticism, a constructive sugges-

tion is made, let the work of what are at present termed hospitals be extended, so that all of the lower half or two-thirds of the population go there when ill and do not lose caste by doing so. This can be done by the State support of hospitals and homes where the patients can get far better associations and treatment than can be given in a small "home" by overworked and not-up-to-date doctors assisted by jaded friends and inferior nursing. There is hardly a better man in the population than the general medical practitioner: he makes people more comfortable and better; but he is commonly a not-up-to-date scientific doctor, and should be divorced from the worries of the wolf-at-the-door. But he must not be made a tradesman; in fact, he would cease to be, if the attempt were made. Primarily, he must be a well-taught man imbued with the human obligations of his life's work and profession. To help him should be the hospitals, their "homes" and their medical staffs, who would be working on smaller but more certain incomes, and no longer living in expensive districts. These two grades in the lower and upper strata of our profession are those to be encouraged. There will always be plenty of others—free lances—who will see to the non-hospital and home part of the profession, and who will look after number one. They require no encouragement.

To make a doctor a tradesman kills him as a doctor. He is most valuable to the public and to his profession as a doctor. He is not thought much of by his profession if he is a tradesman, whether he be a three-penny dispenser or a fashionable West-end man. The true doctor, being good, deserves encouragement; the others we shall always have with us—like the necessity to wash. The regulation of their affairs will do the public and the medical profession no good; and to bring more men to their level will do harm.

EDRED M. CORNER.

37, Harley Street, W.

GERMAN DYES.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—There has been a great deal of talk lately about the marvellous skill of the learned German professors of chemistry and their imitators in making artificial dyes.

I do not deny their skill, but I would point out that the chemists do not buy dyes, but on the contrary they are out to sell stuff that they have made themselves, and as a woollen cloth manufacturer brought up with the responsibility of expending family money in the purchase of dyes, I speak with authority when I say that none of the vaunted chemical dyes compare with natural indigo in intrinsic value.

Surely it is time that the scattered indigo planters and their friends combined and formed some sort of organisation in order to put up a fight for the real thing?

If they will meet in London I have a definite proposal to put before them.—Yours truly,

ALEX. W. PLAYNE.

Bedford, February 5, 1918.

"CATCH-AS-CATCH-CAN."

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—To the man with a boat of his own, and a little knowledge (no dangerous thing) of his craft, it is a simple matter, as I chance to know, to go forth daily and gather gratis of the deep. Yet if he is not so furnished, and has to purchase, he finds, as a rule, either that the fish is not to be had or, if it is, at so exorbitant a rate that he falls back upon some less uncontrolled, but probably scarcer, food for his family. What is the Board about?

Polonius swears (and he's not over nice)

That the fishes are "not to be had at the price;"

Nor will while the fishers are free as the seas,

To get all they want and demand what they please.

Yours faithfully,

PISCATOR.

Torbay, January 29th, 1918.

REVIEWS.

THE SOURCE OF SOCIALISM.

The Chartist Movement. By the late Mark Hovell. Edited by Professor Tout. Manchester University Press and Longmans. 7s. 6d. net.

NO period of English history is more informative for the student of social and industrial economy than the first half of the nineteenth century. The book before us, as Professor Tout tells us in his pathetic introduction, is not in the final form intended by its author, one of the most promising young graduates and lecturers of Manchester University, who, as a lieutenant in the Sherwood Foresters, died in his country's cause. We have here the draft of a history of Chartism; rather like the notes of Aristotle, that have come down to us; that is to say, in point of form, a little too compressed, and without the stitchings which make a pleasant and easy narrative. But of its educational value there can be no question. The book is packed tight with the strong meat of history and political economy.

It is a mistake to suppose that the splendid philosophy of Burke—whose 'Reflections on the Revolution in France,' 'Letters on a Regicide Peace,' and 'Letter to a Noble Lord' form the Bible of Conservatives—ever permeated the masses of this country. It was, of course, acclaimed with rapture by the King and the aristocracy, by the farmers (whose corn was at higher than present prices), and by the large portion of the middle class whose prosperity depends on the upper class. The mob, which burned Priestley's house, was too ignorant to understand Burke, but it hated the French, as foreigners, and regarded chemists and scientists as a species to be hunted like witches or demons. There was, however, a small knot of intellectuals who were excited by the French Revolution, and who eagerly read Tom Paine on 'The Rights of Man,' without being much horrified by the September massacres or the murder of King Louis and his Queen. The stream of Rousseauism—for Rousseau was the prophet of Paine—ran strongly in England for about thirty years, and, after disappearing for half a century, has, like the river Arcthusa, reappeared, and is running still. Cobbett, though he despised theories about rights and the state of nature, and though his strong commonsense rebelled against schemes of confiscation, was a powerful ally of the Rousseau school, for he wrote with irresistible and inimitable power against tax-eaters, paper money, the war debt, war-mongers, Jews, Quakers, and pensioners. He really was the greatest advocate the peasant ever had. The most amiable and virtuous disciple of Rousseau and natural rights was Robert Owen, with his communistic society. By the side of the shallow, babbling brook of Rousseauism, there flowed the calm deep stream of Benthamism. Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, Grote, and Ricardo were pure intellectuals, and regarded with open contempt the school of the Rights of Man. But though they discerned the absurdity of the State of Nature and the Rights of Man, they were guilty of the equally gross error of assuming that the masses were morally and mentally capable of perceiving and securing their own true interests. "All men act from self-interest" was Bentham's fundamental: but then, in flat contradiction to history (of which he knew nothing), he overrated the virtue and intelligence of "all men." Rousseauism and Benthamism were the two streams of thought that ran through the England of pre-reform and post-Waterloo days. These two writers, the one a French peasant, the other an English lawyer, inspired hosts of agitators and pamphleteers, some of them very able, like Spence and Ogilvie, all forgotten to-day. But, as Matthew Arnold has observed, mind cannot be effective without its atmosphere. Events co-operated with these men: the schools of Rousseau and Bentham supplied the heap of combustible materials, which were set ablaze by the invention of machinery and the Poor Law Act of 1834. The substitution of machine-loom for hand-loom turned an enormous number of weavers out of work. For many years these unfortunates were

supported by the old system of outdoor relief, which created an army of able-bodied serfs, half-paupers and half-workmen. The squires, parsons, publicans, farmers, manufacturers, and tradesmen, who granted the outdoor relief, undoubtedly used the rates to pay rents and debts owing to themselves, and thus kept down wages. The scandal was "gross as a mountain, open, palpable." After the great Reform Act of 1832, the Whigs, with a middle-class Parliament behind them, allowed themselves to be egged on by the economists to pass the Poor Law Act of 1834, which restricted outdoor relief to the infirm, and applied the workhouse test unflinchingly to the able-bodied. It was a greater revolution than the Reform Act; it struck a mortal blow at rural feudalism; and for the first time, as Hovell says, it brought parish opinion into collision with the official mind. Barking Parva had to deal, no longer with the squire or the farmer, but with the Poor Law Commissioners at Whitehall. One has to read a novel like 'Sybil' to realise the hubbub which the New Poor Law caused in the castle and the cottage. The New Poor Law put the match to the gunpowder: it was the antecedent of the Chartist League, and it called into existence a new class of agitators; some of them practical philanthropists and business men, like Fielden and Ostler; some of them wild and sinister revolutionaries, like Feargus O'Connor, Beaumont, and Ernest Jones, who were gentlemen by birth; well-meaning cranks like Attwood; hard-headed thinkers like Place; the Birmingham Convention; and a long tail of simpletons and tub-thumpers not worth remembering. Such was the genesis of Chartism, as drawn, with much research, in these pages.

The convergence of Utopian sentiment, mercenary agitation, and real suffering, produced the Charter, of which the Six Points were: 1. Universal male suffrage. 2. Voting by ballot. 3. Equal electoral districts. 4. Annual Parliaments. 5. No property qualification for members of Parliament. 6. Payment of members. All these points, with the exception of annual Parliaments, are now law, or will be in a few weeks, when the new Reform Bill is passed, with the addition of female suffrage. Yet, says Professor Tout, in the final pages which he adds on the place of Chartism in history, "Contemporaries, whether friendly or hostile to Chartism, had no hesitation in declaring the movement fruitless. . . . The judgment of its own age has been accepted by many later historians, and there has been a general agreement in placing Chartism amongst the lost causes of history." This "general agreement" strikes us as a very shallow judgment, seeing that five out of the six points have been carried, and the sixth soon will be. Chartism failed at the time (1834-48) for the following reasons (in addition to one luckily common to all revolutionary movements, that thieves generally fall out among themselves): 1. The proletariat were not ready for it: they were too ignorant to understand it, and they had no votes to enforce it. 2. The middle class, just enfranchised by the Reform Act of 1832, were satisfied with their new power, and were absorbed in their attack upon the Corn Laws. They regarded the Chartists as a bore, and would not help them. 3. The aristocracy, incarnated in the Duke of Wellington, were still alive. On "the day" in 1848, when the great meeting on Kennington Common was held, O'Connor quailed, and the Duke was firm. O'Connor doubtless knew of the Duke's disposition of troops, and he allowed himself to be defeated by a policeman. But what finally crushed Chartism and caused it to disappear for half a century was the abounding commercial prosperity that began in 1860, and continued down to the outbreak of the present war. As wealth advanced "by leaps and bounds," the upper and middle classes grew less afraid of revolution, and quietly conceded one by one the points of the Charter. Yet the people are not less but more discontented than ever. Chartism is rousing itself "like a strong man after sleep, and shaking its invincible locks" at a society which has no Duke of Wellington to defend it, nothing but a herd of trembling politicians, ready to sell it for their own places. The Minimum Wage, the State ownership of production, pensions for everybody,

the confiscation of profits and rents—these are different demands from those made in the National Petition. Whether they can be attained without a civil war, or whether society will once more be saved by quarrels between the revolutionary factions, or whether democracy will be defeated by the iron facts of the military and economic situation after the war, are matters of speculation. There can be no better preparation for the understanding of the terrible events which enfold the nation than tracing through the chapters of this careful work the stream of Socialism to its source in Chartism.

WORDSWORTH.

English Romantic Poets: Selections from the Poems of William Wordsworth. Edited by A. Hamilton Thompson. Cambridge: University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

THE contemplative Lake Poet has been often quoted and oftener remembered since the war began; after a hundred years he comes out as the poet of the courage of England. His power and influence to-day would much amaze Byron and others who in his own day thought him tame and slow. Mr. Dickey's fascinating description of Wordsworth's statesmanship is probably something of a paradox to many readers of Wordsworth and to others who have read him little. The Cambridge Press has brought out a volume of selected poems with an introduction and commentary which does not ignore Wordsworth's defence of Liberty and is not unjust to him as a fighting man. But the editor is not tempted by the present significance of Wordsworth, in time of war, to neglect the poems of quiet meditation. "His part in the movements of his age was the liberation of poetry from convention." Wordsworth, as Mr. Hamilton Thompson sees him, is scarcely as dangerous as in Sir Walter Raleigh's estimate, nor ever lawless as in Mr. Andrew Bradley's clear and sympathetic judgment he is proved to be. Those two critics are not mentioned; possibly they are too dangerous themselves to be recommended to the ingenuous youth, or the respectable late-learner, for whom this commentator has laboured.

The notes in this book are not entirely free from the usual discrepancies to be found in books for schools. They sometimes explain the not too difficult passages, and they are not "dedicated particularly" to any one class of readers. The student who requires to have 'Cytherea' explained to him, who has to be told that 'the Thunderer' means Zeus, will not be edified by references to Anaxagoras and Plato in a note on 'Tintern Abbey.'

Mr. Nowell Smith's edition of Wordsworth is not mentioned in this Cambridge selection. Wordsworth's frequent quotations and allusions were tracked out years ago by Mr. S. Charles Hill, who gave his notes to the late Professor Knight for his revised edition of the poet. Some, but not all, are noted here. "Daughter of the voice of God" should have been explained by reference to 'Paradise Lost,' IX. 653, and to the scholiasts on that passage.

The greatest poets suffer most from over-interpretation, and some of them are more exposed to this injury than others. Homer and Ovid are not guilty, though they have been made vehicles for theological mysteries, as Rabelais tells. But Wordsworth has done something to encourage the "bold bad men," frequenters of social science congresses, so pleasantly shown up by Matthew Arnold. These quoters of Wordsworth on education and other moral themes are less frequent now; but 'Tintern Abbey' and the 'Ode' (as it is simply called in 1807, with no "Intimations") are still a resource for the earnest inquirers after doctrine; there seems to be no end to the prose repetition of their argument, and in prose their argument is altered lamentably for the worse. The Indian gentleman consulted by Mr. Kipling in his 'Finest Story in the World' knows more about re-incarnation than any English preacher, but talking to an Englishman he remembers the 'cram-book on Wordsworth' which he was expected to study at College—the annotated edition, with compulsory learn-

ing about Plato and cheerless sentences on the pre-existence of the soul. More deadly than any frost of custom and duller than any social science congress, the prose adept in a mystical theory goes on his way—cheapening at every step what he has taken from his authors.

A singular instance of sham philosophical rendering of Wordsworth may be found in Dr. Georg Brandes, in that volume of his ambitious work on Nineteenth Century Literature which is devoted to England. 'Naturalism in England' finds pantheistic philosophy in a poem which might have escaped even a philosopher if Wordsworth had not written other poems where the transcendentalist may claim a right to be heard expounding. It is almost too cruel to quote, but Dr. Georg Brandes, reading "She has no motion now, no force," imagines that "she" is Wordsworth's "spirit," which is mentioned in the first line of the poem. This spirit "she" is rolled round with rocks and stones, and the philosopher taking her so explains that "if one plunges into the mood from which a poem like this arises, one finds a pantheistic order of thought; the unconscious life is the ground and source of the conscious," etc. To get the full force of this immense revelation of Dr. Brandes we should go to the German translation ('Hauptströmungen', IV. p. 64, 1876). In the original Danish, Wordsworth's poem is turned into prose; but the industrious German translator is not content with this. He has found out Wordsworth in the original, and translates this into German in the original common metre, naturally taking his Danish authority to make out the English meaning. But unhappily, though "spirit" may be "she" in Danish, "Geist" in German must be "er," and we are presented with this inestimable thing:—

"Ein Schlummer deckte meinen Geist
Sammt allem Menschenleid,
Nicht fühlt er, wie vorüber kreist,
Der Erdenjahre Zeit.
Nun stört ihn Nichts, er blickt nicht auf,
Liegt still als wie in Traum,
Und schwingt sich nur im Erdenlauf,
Mit Fels und Stein und Baum."

We contribute this bottled specimen to the museum of the things

Germania quos horrida parturit Fetus.

Is not "the Romantic Movement" coming to be rather overdone? The English Romantic Poets did not invent Romance, nor the beauties of Nature either. The right understanding of Wordsworth might be aided with a little more exact knowledge of the eighteenth century interest in landscape. Scenery painting was common before Wordsworth was born, and "the meanest flower that blows" was not his own discovery. Bishop Butler and Shenstone had both thought of it. Wordsworth's defiance of convention—is that not sometimes exaggerated and misrepresented? We know that the form of his chief poems was taken from older poets. If he freed English poetry, as the Romantic critics say, it was not so much by getting rid of conventions as by writing original poems, some of them less obviously conventional than others, but all of them belonging to the tradition of English poetry, whatever their author might profess about his aims and his diction.

A DIARY OF SENSATIONS.

A Diary Without Dates. By Enid Bagnold. Heinemann. 2s. 6d. net.

DIARIES that are impressions or confessions rather than bare chronicles are necessarily self-conscious; they reveal temperament. There are the great professed diaries such as the 'Journal to Stella,' in which the workings of hearts are fixed for ever. There are the diaries of curiosity such as that of Pepys the vital and immortal. And there are the diaries of sensation—introspective, oblique, intensely self-centred. They need not be diaries in form, as Rousseau and Sterne testify. Montaigne's Essays, too, are diary, and

need only be set beside Bacon's to show the gulf between scientific proverb and the insistent chase of self, between sententiousness and sensation. In a minor and super-modern key Marie Bashkirtseff is another example, but she is hysterical.

Miss Bagnold's little book belongs to the Diaries of Sensation, and of sensation that is not sentimental. It is her first effort in prose—though there is no sense of effort in it, and she renders every breath of a war-hospital on the mirror of her own personality. Let it be said at once that her personality is interesting and original, and that the morbidness of her medium is tempered by a real sense both of pathos and humour. The monotony, the surprises, of patients, sisters, V.A.D.s, and visitors are all absorbed. So is the atmospheric setting of snow and storm and landscape. So are the grim ironies, the petty jealousies, the little comedies, and the big, central tragedies. All exist for her more than she for them, and pain itself becomes artistry. We see the sister who dreads death but fears life more, the mute heroisms and martyrdoms of men who have looked on hell, their measured, hidden exits when death—also a sister—releases them. And we see the smug self-importance of medical officers and interloping busybodies. It is a long gallery in a short space, of pastels often admirably painted in short, impressionist touches. And in every likeness we catch at least a glimpse of Miss Bagnold herself. It is the portrait of a quick, adventurous, gifted spirit, keen to observe, enjoying even the miseries because of their possibilities. Moreover, she suggests much more than she depicts—a test of style. The feelings that she thus individualises by realising herself through them are none the less feelings of and for others; only she throws herself outward far less than she throws them inward. She is to be congratulated on her debut and the buoyant youth of it, and the vivid frankness. If we do not relish realism like "the swollen green flesh extended across the strings," or perhaps much care for her hysterical dairyman who has never faced the front, we admire her heroisms and heroisms, and we like this. "Nurse," he said, "the difference between being in bed and getting up is that in bed you do nothing, but when you get up there's nothing to do. . . ."

ONCE A MONTH.

In **Blackwood**, Anthony Penn continues in an animated style his 'Brain of the Guns.' The 'Silhouettes from the Soudan,' by G. J. H., contain some remarkable instances of the Arab's power as a detective. Men of this race are wonderful trackers and guides. In view of the Sinn Féin organisation, Mr. W. J. Hardy retells the story of 'The Irish Rebellion of Forty-eight.' Miss Katharine Doughty in 'Shipping and Agriculture,' also goes back to the wisdom of the past. H. C. W. B. tells of a long and most trying journey, nearly 1,700 miles, 'From Kut to Kastamuni.' "Klaxon" is a vivid and forceful writer, but we think he is doing too much. 'A Hymn of Disgust' is overstrained and would gain by being cut down.

Mr. Boyd Cable opens the **Cornhill** with one of his effective stories of airmen. Sir Algernon West continues his 'Recollections' of Gladstone and other prominent politicians. We do not think much of Gladstone's views on the two best of the series of Waverley novels. It is pleasing to read Mr. Crooke's retort to an opponent at Poplar who boasted of four uncles in the army, that he had had five aunts in the workhouse. Mr. Copplestone continues 'The Battle of the Giants,' his critical account of the naval engagement of Jutland. Mr. Charles Graves has an entertaining article on 'The Cult of the Limerick.'

In the **Nineteenth Century** Mr. Paul Helmer gives an "Alsation View" of 'Alsace-Lorraine and the Principle of Nationality.' There are two interesting articles on 'The Future of India.' Sir Francis Younghusband includes in the first a tribute to the powers and charm of Julian Grenfell. He is "dead against precipitate action such as that demanded by Mrs. Besant." Sir Andrew Fraser suggests that the main point is to make the people of India reasonably fit to share in the Government of the country. Another Anglo-Indian veteran, Sir Roper Lethbridge, has an interesting article on 'Government Relations with the Press.'

an Indian Precedent.' India, when the writer was Press Commissioner, gained much in knowledge and understanding of Government schemes. Sir Edward Sullivan concludes his suggestive 'Shakespeare and Italy,' in which he brings Giordano Bruno near Hamlet, and Mr. J. Ellis Barker shows, with numerous statistics, that Italy, in spite of the thrifty habits of its workers, is hampered by the density of its population and the inadequacy of its natural resources. So Italy needs rich and empty territories. Dr. Dillon reveals 'The Plight of Spain,' in which the army troubles have long been very serious and the proletariat live in a state of misery and indifference.

The **Fortnightly** begins with a poem by Mr. Lawrence Binyon on 'Oxford in War Time,' which seems to us a little uncertain in rhythm, but it is full of the writer's dignity of phrase. Mr. Frederic Harrison's 'Obiter Scripta' this month cover a wide range, from politics to letters, and are full of interest. The 'New Year's Musings' of Mr. Dillon deal largely with the warnings which he was not allowed to give, especially concerning a secret treaty between the Tsar and the Kaiser. Mr. Archibald Hurd writes of the Navy and its critics in 'The North Sea and Beyond: The New Situation.' He points out that "the British Navy is engaged in *three* simultaneous wars." "Politics" in 'The Future of France and of Civilisation,' takes the view that the alarming decrease in the birthrate is due, not to the prosperity of the French, but their poverty. The industries of France are stationary as compared with those of England and Germany. Mr. J. E. Allen, dealing with 'A Capital Levy: The Conscription of Wealth,' points out "the astounding unfairness of the proposal." Why should one small class pay for the war?

LATEST PUBLICATIONS.

- A Short History of the Rifle Brigade (Capt. H. G. Parkyn). Bale, Son and Danielson. 2s. 6d. net.
Edmund Spenser: A Critical Study (H. Ellsworth Cory). University of California Press.
Ireland in the Realm and Ulster in Ireland (Richardson Evans). Constable.
History of Germany in the 19th Century (Henrich von Treitschke). Jarrolds. 12s. 6d. net.
Mutual Aid in Food Production and Distribution. Headley. 6d.
Religion and Realities (Henry Maudsley). Bale, Sons and Danielson. 3s. 6d. net.
The Old Guilds of England (F. Armitage). Weare. 6s.
The Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 (Ed. by J. Brown Scott). Oxford: Clarendon Press. 15s. net.
Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation (G. G. Coulton). C.U.P. 15s. net.
The Vaisesika Philosophy (H. Ui). Royal Asiatic Society.
The Wonders of Instinct (J. H. Fabre). Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

VERSE.

- Poems and Plays (Nicholas H. Todd). Sedburgh: Jackson. 5s. net.

FICTION.

- Martie the Unconquered (Kathleen Norris). Murray. 5s. net.
On Etna (Norma Lorimer). Stanley Paul. 6s. net.
Rose o' Paradise (Grace Miller White). Mills and Boon. 6s. net.
The Bay of Saffron (Baroness von Hutten). Hutchinson. 6s. net.
The Man of Silver Mount (Max Pemberton). Cassell. 6s. net.

THE CITY.

In his plea for the repeal of the Bank Act of 1844, Sir Edward Holden referred only to one measure of reform of the Bank of England, and one which is likely to arouse a great deal of discussion and criticism among bankers and economists. He advocates a system under which the separation of the Issue and Banking Departments of the Central Institution will be annulled, notes to be issued against cash and bills of exchange, and not to exceed three times the gold and cash balance, except by payment of a tax on any excess. So, at a time when the evils of inflation and credit-making are strikingly apparent, he suggests a change which would enable the Bank of England to provide more credit.

While it must be acknowledged that there is something ridiculous in a system which breaks down in times of severe strain, and in an Act which has to be broken when crisis occurs, any legislation which might have the effect of lowering the world-wide



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prestige of the Bank of England note must not be adopted without stringent safeguards. We wish that Sir Edward had taken a broader survey of the relation of the Bank to the world's finance and commerce instead of confining himself to the basis of the note issue. Important changes are necessary, whether they involve the note issue or not, and in approaching the adjustment of the Bank's Charter it will be imperative to consider the relations of the Central Institution not only to the Government and the clearing banks, but to the Empire.

If it be admitted that Sir Edward Holden has made a good case for reform, his case is immensely strengthened by taking a wider view of the Bank's duties and responsibilities to the Empire. Steps should be taken to establish the Bank of England as the Reserve Bank of the whole Empire, as the Central Institution of the banks of the British Dominions and India as well as of the domestic banks.

Financial supremacy cannot be established by mere legislation. Indeed, the tendency of legislation is to restrict individual enterprise and expansion, and that is the chief reason why it is desirable to exercise caution in advancing proposals which have to run the gauntlet of both Houses of Parliament. The war has provided a unique opportunity for New York to challenge London's financial supremacy, and so far New York has not shown capacity to take full advantage of it; but New York and Washington together have made progress. Finance often dominates policy and politics, national and international, and if any changes are to be made at the Bank of England two essentials must be guarded: the prestige of the Bank and of the Bank note must not be endangered, and the Bank must become the Bank of the British Empire in fact if not in name.

Sir Edward Holden has asked for the appointment of a committee of six bankers to consider and report upon the desirability of repealing Peel's Act. It would be preferable that a committee be formed of a more catholic character, with much broader instructions. Already there is a Committee on Currency and Exchange, with Lord Cunliffe as chairman, to consider various problems that will arise after the war, and to suggest steps to be taken to restore normal conditions in currency and foreign exchanges. On this committee the accepting houses are well represented, and Ireland, Scotland, Canada, and Australia have spokesmen, but the joint stock banks appear not to have been consulted as a body. It might be well to reconstruct this committee, extend its terms of reference, and add to it six prominent representatives of the clearing banks, together with representatives of the British overseas institutions who should be selected, not by the Treasury but by the banking communities whom they represent. Sir Edward Holden congratulated the United States Government and American bankers on having created and built up a banking system which surpasses in strength and in excellence any other in the world. If this is really so—it has not yet been tested—then there lies the model for Great and Greater Britain.

INSURANCE.

NATIONAL MUTUAL LIFE OFFICE.

ONLY in two essentials—finance and interest earnings—has the recent management of the National Mutual Life Assurance Society proved really impressive. After a somewhat prolonged spell of gradual expansion, culminating in 1903, greatly increased enterprise was shown for a time, and at the end of 1913, when two consecutive and most successful quinquenniums had terminated, the accounts showed that during the last five years the life assurance and annuity fund had increased from £2,843,758 to £2,986,833, although the substantial sum of £115,211 had had to be written off Stock Exchange and other securities. At that time the business of the society was undoubtedly in excellent shape. During the ten years there had been a great extension of the society's operations, new assur-

ances had been effected on a notably enlarged scale, especially throughout the first of the two quinquenniums, and these healthy symptoms had resulted in a marked enlargement of the premium income, funds and incomes for investments. The consolidated revenue account for the five years ended December 31st, 1913, showed that the life premiums had amounted to £985,797, and the net interest earnings to £563,761, while, including consideration for annuities granted, profits from reversions and realization of securities and fines and fees, the receipts from all sources had amounted to £1,636,257. Of this amount only £812,838 had been required for death claims, and £151,470 for expenses of management and commission. Mortality charges had thus proved much less than the premium receipts. Expenditure had been moderate, in view of the volume of new business transacted, and, to crown all, the rate of interest on the life funds (excluding reversionary investments) had steadily increased year by year to about £4 19s. per cent., subject to income tax, or to £4 15s. 3d. per cent. after deduction of the tax.

Exceptional prosperity had, therefore, been enjoyed, and the valuation as at December 31st, 1913, disclosed a surplus of £341,098 (including £78,544 brought forward, an actual profit of £280,795 having been realised during the five years; the natural result was bonuses on the highest scale in the history of the society, although the amount left unappropriated was largely increased, £102,164 being carried forward. It is evident from this that the current quinquennium, which expires on December 31st next, was started under most promising conditions, and up to the end of July, 1914, everything went well with the society. Since then, however, the National Mutual, which must not be confused with the National Mutual Life Association of Australasia, has steadily travelled downhill, and no vigorous effort seems to have been made to check the unpleasant movement. In 1913 the net sums assured under 657 policies had amounted to £369,127, and had yielded £13,728 in new annual premiums, plus £999

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by single payments; whereas for the last four years the corresponding return was as follows:—

Year	Policies Issued	Sum Assured	New Annual Premiums	Single Premiums
	No.	£	£	£
1914	552	388,090	12,104	1,696
1915	342	211,382	8,780	102
1916	280	188,739	9,486	442
1917	263	172,454	7,124	1,274

A continued and not inconsiderable loss of new business had thus occurred at the close of last year, and it is probable that the real facts were worse than those shown, seeing that since the war began extra premiums have been much freely paid. But even were this not the case, the position revealed would be sufficiently discouraging.

It is equally manifest that the society has been none too prosperous in some other ways. On December 31st, 1913, the life assurance fund stood at £2,986,833, while it showed an amount of £2,741,369, or £245,464 less at the end of last year.

From a purely financial point of view this mutual society has doubtless been most carefully and successfully managed. In 1913 the amount credited to the life fund in respect of interest on investments, excluding reversions, was £127,413 gross and £122,792 when income tax had been deducted, while for each of the four subsequent years the corresponding amounts were as under:—

Year.	Gross Interest.	Income Tax.	Net Interest.
	£	£	£
1914	129,971	8,224	121,747
1915	121,273	12,111	109,161
1916	117,847	23,317	94,530
1917	123,283	18,491	104,792

A mere glance at these figures suffices to tell one that a satisfactory, although fluctuating, return has been obtained from the investments, and at the present time, notwithstanding increased deductions for income tax, there is a considerable difference between the actual net rate realised and the 3 per cent. rate assumed in the valuation calculations. Substantial profits are, in a word, secured, but their availability as "surplus" largely depends upon astute administration in other directions. When the volume of new business is allowed to contract to a serious extent, and the premium income has ceased to be buoyant, there is quite a possibility that the valuation will disclose only a small surplus, albeit interest earnings have been liberal and expenditure moderate. Sound management, indeed, is only exhibited in its highest form when the premium income is fully maintained, or gradually expanded; and when, also, the new premiums suffice to make good the annual wastage from mortality, maturity, and other causes, with something left over besides. It is from this standpoint that the recent management of this society is possibly open to criticism.

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CAPITAL—Paid-up	£3,000,000
Uncalled	2,300,000
Reserved Liability...			...	10,600,000
Subscribed Capital			...	£15,900,000

RESERVE FUND (invested in British Government Securities), £2,100,000.

Number of Shareholders, 19,796.

DIRECTORS.

FRANCIS CHARLES LE MARCHANT, Esq.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LICHFIELD
GEORGE FORBES MALCOLMSON, Esq.
SELWYN ROBERT PRYOR, Esq.
ROBERT WIGRAM, Esq.

JOINT GENERAL MANAGERS.

A. G. HOPEWELL, Esq.

SOLICITORS.

WALTER EDWARD MOORE, Esq.

EIGHTY-FIFTH REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS TO BE PRESENTED AT THE MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS TO
 BE HELD ON 31st JANUARY, 1918.

The Directors retiring by rotation are Francis Alexander Johnston, Esq., Selwyn Robert Pryor, Esq., and Colin Frederick Campbell, Esq., all of whom, being eligible, offer themselves for re-election.

The Directors have to announce the retirement in June last of Mr. Thomas Estall, after a long and faithful service of fifty-one years, during fourteen of which he occupied the position of Joint General Manager.

Mr. A. G. Hopewell, Joint Manager of the City Office, has been appointed a Joint General Manager.

In accordance with the resolution passed at the Extraordinary General Meetings held last year the Bank is now conducting the business of Trustees and Executors

The Directors also announce that they have made a provisional arrangement for the amalgamation of the Union of London and Smiths Bank, Ltd., with this Bank as from 1st January, 1918. Special meetings for the purpose of carrying out the arrangement will be called at an early date.

As from 1st July last this Bank has, with Lloyds Bank, Limited, become Joint Proprietor of Lloyds Bank (France) and National Provincial Bank (France), Limited.

In conformity with the Act of Parliament, the Shareholders are required to elect the Auditors and fix their remuneration. Sir William Barclay Peat (of Messrs W. B. Peat & Co.) and Mr. Nicholas Edwin Waterhouse (of Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co.) the retiring Auditors, offer themselves for re-election.

	£	s.	d.
Interim Dividend of 8 per cent. subject to deduction of Income Tax (£60,000) paid in August last	240,000	0	0
A further Dividend of 8 per cent. subject to deduction of Income Tax (£60,000), making 16 per cent. for the year, payable 5th proximo	240,000	0	0
Transferred to Reserve Fund	300,000	0	0
Placed to Contingencies	350,000	0	0
Balance carried forward to 1918	182,932	0	2
	\$1,312,932	0	2

BALANCE SHEET. 31st DECEMBER, 1917.

	£	s.	d.
CAPITAL:—			
40,000 Shares of £75 each, £10 10s. paid	430,000	0	0
215,000 " £60 " £12 "	2,580,000	0	0
	3,000,000	0	0
RESERVE FUND:—	2,100,000	0	0
	5,100,000	0	0
Current Deposit and Other Accounts, including rebate on Bills not due, provision for bad and doubtful debts, contingencies, etc.	112,507,463	10	7
Acceptances and Endorsements of Foreign Bills on Account of Customers, and obligations under Treasury Minutes	1,982,964	7	7
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT:—			
Balance of Profit and Loss Account, including £80,220 13s. brought from year 1916	\$1,312,932	0	2
Less Interim Dividend, 8 per cent., subject to deduction of Income Tax (£60,000) paid in August last	£240,000	0	0
" Dividend of 8 per cent., subject to deduction of Income Tax (£200,000) payable 31st February next	£240,000	0	0
" Transferred to Reserve Fund	£350,000	0	0
" Placed to Contingencies			
	1,130,000	0	0
Balance carried forward to 1918	182,932	0	2
	£119,863,364	18	4

M. O. FITZGERALD,
G. F. MALCOLMSON,
ROBERT WIGRAM. } *Directors.*

D. J. H. CUNNICK,
FREDERICK ELEY,
A. G. HOPEWELL } *Joint
General;
Managers.*

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK OF ENGLAND, LTD.

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books at the Head Office and with the Returns from the Branches. We have satisfied ourselves as to the correctness of the Cash Balance Sheet and the statement of the Bank and the Securities held by the Bank and the Money at Call and Short Notice at the Head Office. We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. In our opinion such Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanation given to us and as shown by the Books and Returns of the Company.

21st January, 1918.

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FRIENDS' PROVIDENT INSTITUTION

QUINQUENNIAL VALUATION—STRONG FINANCIAL POSITION.

THE 85TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Friends' Provident Institution was held on Wednesday, February 6th, at the Great Eastern Hotel, Bishopsgate, Mr. Alfred Holmes (the Chairman of the Board of Directors) presiding.

In moving the adoption of the Annual Report, the Chairman said: It will be observed that the amount of New Life business obtained, although not quite so much as for the preceding year, is higher than the total of any other year in the Quinquennium. New Life business has been secured amidst unprecedented difficulties arising out of the war, and under the circumstances we are gratified with the substantial results achieved, which give promise of even more excellent returns upon the restoration of normal conditions.

For the third year in succession the ratio of the number of deaths to the number expected is about 75 per cent., but the incidence of mortality has been even more favourable than in the previous years. The amount of death claims has been £171,000, which compares with almost the same total in 1916 and £192,000 in 1915. A very satisfactory profit has accrued.

War claims have accounted for the disbursement of £51,000 since August 4th, 1914, the net actuarial loss being £39,000. We are both relieved and gratified that the loss sustained has been no worse.

Conformably with our action in previous war-years, the Board have supported the national finances to the best of their ability during this time of stress, feeling that the monetary interests of our members are inextricably bound up with the national welfare. We have, at the request of the Government (in common with other insurance companies), either lent to the Treasury or sold our substantial holdings of American, Scandinavian, and other securities specified by the Government, thus assisting in supporting foreign exchanges and keeping down the cost of imported commodities. We have also, at the urgent request of the Government, invested about £650,000—i.e., about 20 per cent. of our funds in long-dated British Government securities. Finally, we are, at the special desire of many of our members, granting facilities to enable them to invest in national securities at the present time. We feel confident that our action throughout has been the right course in view of the Board's responsibility for the prudent care of the Institution's large funds, and that it meets with the entire approval, under present circumstances, of a large majority of our members.

QUINQUENNIAL VALUATION.

I will now turn to a subject which, on the present occasion, will be the predominant one in your minds, viz., the report of the quinquennial valuation made as at the 20th November, 1917. The report has been sent to every member, and will naturally have received very careful perusal and consideration.

For the first time in the series of quinquennial valuations made since 1842 the directors have decided it will be prudent to postpone the declaration of a bonus, but there has been no doubt in our minds that, whatever other life assurance institutions may decide to do, it is in accordance with the sound business traditions associated with Friends that in the fourth year of the World War—a time of uncertainty, both political and financial—hard facts should be fearlessly dealt with and resources rigorously conserved, irrespective of whether immediate benefits are thereby deferred or not.

Our liabilities were already provided for on conservative bases, and in accordance with the recommendation of the actuary of the institution we have considered it wise still further to strengthen them in two respects on the present occasion, as explained in the Valuation Report.

The Board have thought it important, under present circumstances, to state in their report, so far as is practicable, the exact basis of valuation of the assets. It will be observed that in no case has a stock exchange security been valued at a price higher than the market price; that unquoted stocks have been valued on an equally severe principle, while ground rents have, as a group, been written down to 16 2-3rds years' purchase—i.e., a 6 per cent. interest basis, no allowance being made for the value of the reversion.

The directors believe that the assets have been valued throughout on principles not only thoroughly sound but, so far as may be judged as a whole, more stringent than those of any other company whose report has appeared during recent years. Nevertheless, they consider that no less drastic course would have been advisable with the present outlook. The directors also decided, in order that the members might have as full information as it is possible to give them, that a complete list of all marketable securities held should be incorporated with the Valuation Report.

LOSSES ARISING FROM THE WAR.

You will observe from the report that three adverse features, principally due to the war, have had approximately the following prejudicial effect on our profits—(1) depreciation of investments has cost £294,000, (2) increase in income tax £60,000, (3) war claims £39,000.

The depreciation of investments for the five years represents almost exactly 9 per cent. of our funds, or about £1 16s. per cent. per annum, obviously much more than the profit from interest earned in excess of the 3 per cent. assumed in our valuation. Nine per cent. may seem at first glance a heavy proportion of loss, as indeed it is, but it should be remembered that depreciation has been fully provided for and that there are no over-valued investments. Moreover, 9 per cent. depreciation compares very favourably with the experience of the well-known "gilt-edged" groups of investments. To take two groups only: Typical British Government Pre-War Stocks have fallen 25 per cent. since the beginning of the war, and Typical British Railway Debenture Stocks have fallen 20 per cent.

Income tax, to deal with the second adverse feature, has increased from 1s. 3d. to 5s. in the £ since the commencement of the war. This adverse effect is greatly intensified by the fact that it must all be paid for out of the margin of interest earned in excess of 3 per cent. To show the serious effect of this increase in the tax, I may mention that during the year before the war we earned interest at the rate of £4 2s. 11d. per cent. gross, or £3 18s. net, the profit margin as compared with the 3 per cent. assumed in the valuation being 18s. per cent. The 3s. increase in the tax lowers the net rate to £3 5s. 6d. per cent., thus leaving a profit margin of 5s. 6d. per cent., which is the equivalent of only 30 per cent. of the pre-war margin. It will be apparent, therefore, that it is highly necessary for offices to earn a much higher gross rate of interest in order to re-establish their margin of interest profit.

The total loss from the three causes named has been about £393,000, and deducted from £428,000 gross surplus, leaves £35,000 to be added to the sum brought forward from the 1912 valuation, making in all £57,000 to be carried forward now.

As the result of the 1912 valuation, we declared a bonus of 32s. per cent. compound in our Whole Life Assurance class, with a somewhat less rate upon Endowment Assurances. Our bonus earning power was so much higher than these rates that we anticipated under normal circumstances materially increasing the bonus on the present occasion, but the World-War has changed all this, and the consequent losses of the Institution have been equal to the value of a £2 per cent. compound bonus for the Quinquennium. It is, therefore, a remarkable tribute to the profit-earning capacity of our business that we have been able to meet this extraordinary strain and yet show a margin of surplus.

ACCUMULATION OF WAR LOSSES.

I would point out that it makes a great deal of difference whether a valuation was made at the end of 1914, 1915, 1916, or 1917, as the aggregate of losses due to the war, comparatively moderate at the end of 1914, was much greater in 1915 and 1916—and in 1917 most severe of all. This will be easily realised, so far as depreciation is concerned, when it is remembered that Government loans, which at first were on a 3½ per cent. interest basis, were advanced to 4½ per cent. in 1915 and 5½ per cent. in 1917. An analysis of the war losses of £393,000 which the Institution has sustained shows that the loss has approximately accumulated thus: To the end of 1914, £105,000; to the end of 1915, £243,000; to the end of 1916, £325,000; to the end of 1917, £393,000. Remembering that our normal profit for the five years would be well over £400,000, and that only £300,000 was required for our satisfactory bonus of 1912, it will appear evident that if our Quinquennium had ended in 1914 we could have declared a substantial bonus with ease. Further, we could have declared a bonus either at the end of 1915 or 1916, although it would have been at a rate lower than normal. Whether or not we would have thought it prudent to declare a bonus during time of war is another matter. Nothing can be more certain, however, than that we commence our current bonus period with 3½ years of war losses behind us, fully dealt with, whereas those offices who have valued in previous years have one, two, or three years of losses to cope with, as the case may be. Moreover, there can be no doubt that, other things being equal, those offices who have refrained from a distribution of bonus during the war are the offices which will best be able to divide large bonuses when more tranquil times return.

FUTURE PROSPECTS.

I should like to say a few words upon the future prospects of the Institution. The two principal sources of profit of an office are: (1) profit from favourable mortality, (2) interest earned in excess of the rate anticipated. We now assume that the rate of mortality will not be less than the rate indicated by the O.M. (5) Table, the most severe test known to actuarial science. In actual experience, as is generally known, our rate of mortality, due to the care with which lives are accepted, and to the excellent quality of the business, is remarkable low, and a large proportion of our surplus earnings arises from this fact.

The rate of interest earned for the past year, after deduction of income tax advanced to £3 16s. 5d., an increase of 5s. 6d. per cent. over 1916. For the current year there should be a further substantial increase to appreciably over 4 per cent. net of tax, arising from the effect of writing down the book value of our securities, from the increase in the rate of interest on Mortgage and Policy Loans, which has been arranged, and from the higher rates now obtainable on first-class new investments. The directors realise that it is by paying particularly close attention to the investments that the best use may be made of present exceptional opportunities for increasing the interest yield. The subject is engaging the unceasing care of

the management, although we are already earning a higher net rate than before the war, notwithstanding the enormous increase in the income tax.

The higher rate of interest upon our mortgage and policy loans which has just been referred to has been fixed with the aim of giving present borrowers a distinct concession as compared with the terms upon which money can be profitably invested elsewhere, so that borrowers still have the privilege of continuing their loans on advantageous terms.

THE NEXT VALUATION.

I suppose to all of us five years appears a long time, and we do not like to think that, even although profits meanwhile may be very high, we must of necessity wait until the end of 1922 before a bonus is declared. The Directors realise that this is a natural feeling, and therefore while unable to make any definite statement under present conditions as to what may be done, the Board will, at the end of the current year, again consider the question of a bonus distribution, and in the meantime they have declared an interim bonus.

I now have formally to move,

That the Revenue Account and Balance Sheet, the Report of the Directors for the year ending 20th November, 1917, and their 1917 Valuation Report be received, approved, and adopted, and I will ask the Deputy-Chairman, Mr. William Frederic Wells, to second the resolution.

Mr. Wells seconded the resolution, and it was carried.

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H. A. LEAROYD, Town Clerk.

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